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# The *antarābhava* dispute among Abhidharma traditions and the list of *anāgāmins*

Qian Lin

## 1. Introduction

Indian Buddhists would appear to have had a passion for history that is somewhat unusual in the milieu of ancient Indian culture. Early Indian Buddhist histories recount not only the spread of Buddhism throughout the Indian subcontinent but also the relationships among the various Buddhist schools that came to be recognized by the tradition. Early Buddhist scholiasts, as the compiler suggests in the opening verses of Vasumitra's *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* (translated by Xuanzang in the 7th c. CE), state that the purpose of such histories that chronicle the tradition's past is "to distinguish the gold of the true teachings of the Buddha from the sands of wrong teachings of those sectarian teachers."<sup>1</sup> Several early historical texts preserved in Pali, Chinese, and Tibetan affiliated with different Buddhist schools offer sectarian maps of early Indian Buddhism. However, when comparing these accounts, as Étienne Lamotte has done in his survey of all available historical texts, we find that they do not match and, in fact, often contradict each other regarding the origin, development and even the distinctive character of Buddhist schools. One potential source of knowledge concerning Buddhist schools are inscriptions discovered at archaeological sites with references to schools' names. Although these

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<sup>1</sup> Taishō no. 2031 異部宗輪論 (卷1) T49, 15a16: ...如採沙中金, 擇取其真實.

inscriptions may provide evidence of school names connected to specific areas, they do not contain the details required for a clear picture of the character of the schools cited or of their interrelationships.

The most detailed sources are the early Indian Buddhist texts themselves, which, although not historical documents in the conventional sense, nonetheless can, if carefully examined, yield important historical information. Like all documents, such texts are themselves historical products whose similarities and differences reveal connections and lineages of transmission that suggest relationships among early Buddhist groups. These relationships are best uncovered not through a mapping of general doctrinal positions but through the careful analysis of specific text passages and subtle terminological and syntactic comparisons. In addition to the early Indian Buddhist textual materials preserved in Pāli and in Chinese translation, we now have Gāndhārī manuscripts that provide invaluable textual evidence by being sources that were not redacted after the 1st–2nd centuries.

The present article is offered as a case study that will attempt to find clues about text-historical relationships among Buddhist texts and Buddhist schools by examining one doctrinal point of dispute recorded in *sūtra* and Abhidharma texts from different schools: specifically, the dispute concerning an intermediate state (*antarābhava*) between death and rebirth and the related list of five types of non-returners (*anāgāmin*).<sup>2</sup>

To explain how a sentient being's karma is carried from one life to the next, Buddhist theorists found it necessary to provide a detailed account of the mechanism of death and rebirth. Since

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<sup>2</sup> An early stage of the research was presented at the IABS conference 2008, Atlanta. I would like to thank my adviser, Collett Cox, for help in my research and in revising my paper, Richard Salomon, for help with several important philological issues, and the Venerable Bhikkhu Bodhi, who inspired certain observations in section 5. I would also like to thank Stefan Baums, Timothy Lenz, and other members of the Kharoṣṭhī Klub at the University of Washington. Finally, I am grateful for the valuable comments and suggestions from the anonymous JIABS reviewer and for the help and patience of the JIABS editor, Helmut Krasser.

the general descriptions found in the *sūtras* were considered insufficiently detailed to withstand critical examination, some later Buddhists developed the notion of an intermediate state or *antarābhava* between death and rebirth. They suggested that a being at death enters the *antarābhava* for seven days or more until attaining the next life.<sup>3</sup> In this way, causal continuity between the past life and the new life was preserved, and, along with it, the causal efficacy of past karma. The notion of *antarābhava* also explained how a being who dies in one place at one time can be reborn in another place at another time. However, the *antarābhava* was rejected by several Buddhist schools. Their main argument against it was that the *antarābhava* was not mentioned in the *sūtras*, and that the classification of sentient beings and their realms did not include a realm of *antarābhava*. For example, Pāli sources reject the *antarābhava* theory, and instead develop a sophisticated theory of mind-process to explain the process of death and rebirth without resorting to a notion of *antarābhava*.<sup>4</sup>

In order to support their positions, both opponents and proponents of the doctrine of *antarābhava* developed different arguments<sup>5</sup> that are, however, both traditionally based upon either scrip-

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<sup>3</sup> For the possible origins and development of the notion of *antarābhava*, see Wijesekera 1945. Cuevas also attempts to map the history of the notion of *antarābhava* in relation to the history of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*: Cuevas 1996; 2003.

<sup>4</sup> For the Theravāda arguments against *antarābhava*, see Aung and Rhys Davids 1969: 212–15. Rupert Gethin introduces the mind-process theory and its relation with the Theravāda theory of death and rebirth from the perspective of Theravāda Abhidhamma (Gethin 1994). But, interestingly, contrary to the impression we get from the Pāli Abhidhamma texts, Rita Langer's fieldwork in Sri Lanka has shown that the majority of Theravādin followers still believe that there is some kind of intermediate being after one dies, whether or not it is named *antarābhava*. See Langer 2007: 82–84.

<sup>5</sup> The *\*Sammatīyanikāyaśāstra* (Taishō no.1649) collects more than 40 arguments on both sides of the dispute (T32, 469b–471c). For a detailed treatment of the arguments in the *Abhidharmakośa*, see pp.380–400 in La Vallée Poussin 1988–1990. Alex Wayman discusses the dispute concerning *antarābhava* on the basis of a number of Sanskrit texts: Wayman 1974. Robert Kritzer has written a series of papers related to *antarābhava*, drawing mostly from the Northern Abhidharma texts preserved in Chinese transla-

ture (*āgama*) or reasoning (*yukti*). In the case of the *antarābhava* dispute, since there is no explicit reference to it in the *sūtras*, there is no *āgama* argument to directly support it. But, within the list of non-returners or *anāgāmins*, which is found within the *sūtras*, certain Buddhists understood the first member of the list – *antarā-parinirvāyin* – as someone in the state of *antarābhava* and, as a result, used this list of *anāgāmins* as a proper *āgama* argument for the proponents of *antarābhava*. So, our investigation starts with the *anāgāmin* list in the *sūtras*.

## 2. The list of *anāgāmins* in the *sūtras*

The word *antarābhava* does not occur in the Pāli Nikāyas, nor do the corresponding Chinese translations 中有 or 中陰 occur in the Chinese Āgamas.<sup>6</sup> But its two components *antarā* and *bhava* are very common words in Indic languages and are encountered very frequently.<sup>7</sup> *Antarā* can act as an adverb, a preposition, or a prefix added to other words carrying the meaning “in between” or “in the middle.”<sup>8</sup> And *bhava* is mostly used in the sense of “form of rebirth,” “state of existence,” or “life” (PED *s.v.*). The list of five kinds of *anāgāmins*<sup>9</sup> is especially interesting regarding the dispute over *antarābhava* because the first member of the list is *antarā-*

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tions: Kritzer 1997; 1998a; 2000a; 2000b.

<sup>6</sup> None of the occurrences of 中有 in the Chinese Āgamas corresponds to *antarābhava*. The word 中陰 does occur twice in the *sūtra* no. 640 in the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama (T02, 177b–180a). However, this volume (fascicle 卷 25) of SĀ is actually a part of a translation of Aśokāvadāna and was mistakenly included in the SĀ. See Yinshun 1983: 2. Also Glass and Allon 2007: 39.

<sup>7</sup> *Antarā* occurs as a separate word about 200 times in the canonical Pāli texts. The word *bhava* occurs about 1600 times either separately or as the second part of a compound.

<sup>8</sup> The Pāli Text Society’s Pāli-English Dictionary (PED) *s.v.*

<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that the list is not always identified as a list of *anāgāmins*. At times, it is referred to as a list of five kinds of persons (*pudgala/puggala*) (e.g. the *Saṅgītisūtra* in the Dīrghāgama (DĀ)), while at other times it is explicitly labeled as a list of five kinds of *anāgāmins*. The present paper will refer to this list as the *anāgāmin* list for the sake of convenience.



*parinirvāyin* (Pāli *antarā-parinibbāyin*), which contains the prefix *antarā*. An *anāgāmin* is one variety of Buddhist practitioner or noble person (*ārya/ariya*) who will never return to this realm of sensual desires (*kāma-dhātu*).<sup>10</sup> The word *antarā-parinirvāyin/antarā-parinibbayin* literally means “one who attains complete *nirvāṇa* in between.” Like many other terms from early Buddhist literature, there is no explanation of its meaning in the *sūtras*. Proponents of *antarābhava* interpret the phrase “in between” as in between the death moment in the realm of sensual desires and the rebirth moment in the realm of form (*rūpa-dhātu*); hence, it can be considered a type of intermediate state of being or *antarābhava*. Therefore, they use the list of *anāgāmins* as a scriptural justification (i.e. an argument grounded in scripture or *āgama*) for the notion of *antarābhava*. Others, who interpret *antarā-parinirvāyin* as someone attains *nirvāṇa* in the middle of his life span in the *rūpa-dhātu*, instead of in the state of *antarābhava* between one lifetime and the next, would reject this list as a justification for the *antarābhava*.

The *sūtra* materials we have today consist of two major collections in Pāli and Chinese translations, with some separate texts or fragments preserved in Sanskrit and Gāndhārī, and a few *sūtras* in Tibetan translations. These various materials have been passed down by different traditions. Table 1 is a list of *sūtra* materials that contain the *anāgāmin* list and their school affiliations as generally accepted by Buddhist scholars. It should be noted that here I use the term “affiliated with” in the sense that a text is closely connected to Buddhist groups such as the Dharmaguptaka or Sarvāstivāda and not to indicate that it originated within a particular sectarian context.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Early mainstream Buddhism traditionally recognizes four kinds of noble persons (*ārya/ariya*): the stream-enterer (*srotāpanna/sotāpanna*), the once-returner (*sakṛidāgāmin/sakadāgāmin*), the non-returner (*anāgāmin*), and finally the arhat (*arahat*). See Gethin 1998: 193–4. The *anāgāmin* is the third and penultimate in this list of achievement stages.

<sup>11</sup> Because of the lack of reliable historical accounts of the texts and of these groups or schools, it is uncertain how a text might have been connected to a particular school: for example, a text might have been preserved, or com-

Gāndhārī <i>Saṅgītisūtra</i> <sup>12</sup> (Saṅg-G)	Dharmaguptaka <sup>13</sup>
Dīrghāgama (DĀ) Taishō no. 1 長阿含經	Dharmaguptaka
* <i>Saṅgītiparyāyasūtra</i> (DJFMJ) Taishō no. 12 大集法門經 <sup>14</sup>	unknown
Madhyamāgama (MĀ) Taishō no. 26 中阿含經	Sarvāstivāda
Samyuktāgama (SĀ) Taishōno. 99 雜阿含經	Sarvāstivāda
Pāli Nikāyas	Theravāda <sup>15</sup>

Table 1: Sūtra texts containing the *anāgāmin* list and their school affiliations

Table 2 lists the occurrences of the *anāgāmin* list in the *sūtras*. The first row indicates where the list occurs, and rows 2–6 contain the forms in which the five members are listed.

	Saṅg-G <sup>16</sup>	DĀ (T1, 51c13–14)	DJFMJ (T1, 231b14–15)	MĀ (T1, 427a13–c24)
1	<i>aṃtaraparīṇivāī</i>	中般涅槃	中人	中般涅槃
2	<i>uvahacaparīṇivāī</i>	生般涅槃	生人	生般涅槃
3	<i>asaṃkharaparīṇivāī</i>	無行般涅槃	有行入	行般涅槃
4	<i>sasaṃkharaparīṇivāī</i>	有行般涅槃	無行入	無行般涅槃

posed, or used, or passed down by a school. Furthermore, it is also unclear whether school names should be understood to represent distinct historical groups, interpretative positions, or something else. For a survey and critique of the modern scholarship on the school affiliations of the Āgamas, see Cai Yaoming 蔡耀明 1998.

<sup>12</sup> Birch bark manuscript fragment 15 in the British Library collection. For an general survey of the manuscripts, see Salomon 1999. A detailed study of the Gāndhārī *Saṅgītisūtra* and its commentary by Collett Cox et al. is forthcoming.

<sup>13</sup> Salomon 1999: 166ff.

<sup>14</sup> This is a late translation (around 1000 CE) of the *Saṅgītisūtra* in the DĀ.

<sup>15</sup> Here I am following the convention of western scholarship in referring to the Pāli Buddhist tradition in Sri Lanka as “Theravāda.” This school may trace its origin to the early Vibhajyavāda branch of the original Sthaviravāda in India. See Gethin 1998: 52–3. It is also associated with the name Tāmraśāṭṭiya. See Yinshun 1981: 6.

<sup>16</sup> Thanks to Dr. Stefan Baums for providing me with a refined reading of the list in the Gandhari manuscript. For a detailed description of relevant Kharoṣṭhi script and transcription, see Glass and Allon 2007: 85–108.

5	<i>ubhraṣoḍo akīṇiṭhakaṃ</i>	上流阿迦尼吒	上流入	上流阿迦膩吒 般涅槃
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... continuation of table 2

	MĀ (T1, 616a15–16)	SĀ (T2, 196c11–20, 197a21–28; 210c29–211a5, 211b17–24)	SĀ (T2, 219c15–23, 220a5–16)	Pāli Nikāyas (D III 237; A I 233; A II 155; A IV 13–14, 71–74, 146, 380; A V 120; S V 69–70)
1	中般涅槃	中般涅槃	中般涅槃	<i>antarāparinibbāyī</i>
2	生般涅槃	生般涅槃	生般涅槃	<i>upahaccaparinibbāyī</i>
3	行般涅槃	無行般涅槃	有行般涅槃	<i>asaṃkhāraparinibbāyī</i>
4	無行般涅槃	有行般涅槃	無行般涅槃	<i>sasaṃkhāraparinibbāyī</i>
5	上流色究竟	上流般涅槃	上流般涅槃	<i>uddhaṃsoto akaniṭṭhagāmī</i>

Table 2: Occurrences of the *anāgāmin* list in *sūtra* texts

In the six Chinese translations listed in table 2, some of the variation merely reflects different Chinese translations for the same Indic terms. For example, 生入 in the DJFMJ and 生般涅槃 in other Chinese versions are obviously translations of the same term *upapadya-parinirvāyin*. If we reconstruct the Indic language list from the Chinese texts, there are actually only three versions, which are shown in table 3.

	Version I	Version II	Version III
	Pāli Nikāyas, Saṅg-G	DĀ, SĀ	MĀ, SĀ, DJFMJ
1	<i>antarā-parinibbāyin</i>	<i>antarā-parinirvāyin</i> 中般涅槃	<i>antarā-parinirvāyin</i> 中般涅槃
2	<i>upahacca- parinibbāyin</i>	<i>upapadya-parinirvāyin</i> 生般涅槃	<i>upapadya-parinirvāyin</i> 生般涅槃
3	<i>asaṃkhāra- parinibbāyin</i>	<i>asamskāra-parinirvāyin</i> 無行般涅槃	<i>sasamskāra- parinirvāyin</i> 有行般涅槃
4	<i>sasaṃkhāra- parinibbāyin</i>	<i>sasamskāra-parinirvāyin</i> 有行般涅槃	<i>asamskāra-parinirvāyin</i> 無行般涅槃
5	<i>uddhaṃsota</i>	<i>ūrdhvasrota</i> 上流	<i>ūrdhvasrota</i> 上流

Table 3: Variations in the list of the five *anāgāmins* in the *sūtras*

These three versions record two specific differences in the *anāgamin* list:

- (1) The wording of the second item: In the Pāli and Gāndhārī lists, the second item is *upahacca*, which seems to be a gerund form from the root  $\sqrt{han}$  – “to smite,” thus the meaning of this term could be “after hitting, damaging” or “after reaching” (CPD *s.v.*) In the other texts, this item is *upapadya*,<sup>17</sup> which is from the root  $\sqrt{pad}$  “to go” with the added prefix *upa-* “near,” in this context most likely understood as “being reborn” (生), as confirmed in the Chinese translations.
- (2) The order of the third and the fourth items: Version II of the list has *asaṃskāra* as the third and *sasaṃskāra* as the fourth item; while in Version III the order of these two items is reversed.

As emphasized earlier, there is no explanation of the list in *sūtra* materials, except for the spark simile discussed in section 4.1, which, unfortunately, still does not give any explicit clarification of these five kinds of persons. As a result, there is no internal evidence within the *sūtra* texts themselves to indicate which list is the “original” or “correct” one. Confronted with this problem, ancient commentators tried their best to justify their own version of the list, as becomes clear in the interpretations presented within the commentaries and Abhidharma texts.

### 3. The lists of *anāgāmins* in early commentaries and Abhidharma texts

With the term “early commentaries and Abhidharma texts,” I refer to the commentarial texts from the earliest days of Buddhism up to around the 5th or 6th century CE, when the Abhidharma systems of Buddhist schools developed to maturity both in the Northern and the Southern traditions. Table 4 lists the relevant texts and their school affiliations. It also lists their positions as supporting or re-

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<sup>17</sup> Thanks to Professor Richard Salomon for pointing out to me that it seems there is an apparent confusion of the root  $\sqrt{pad}$  “go, step” with another root  $\sqrt{pat}$  “fly, fall” regarding this word and the spark simile. See my discussion in section 5.2.

jecting the notion of *antarābhava*, which will be discussed later in detail. The last column of the table shows the matching version of the *anāgāmin* list in the *sūtras* from table 3.

Text	School affiliation	<i>antarābhava</i>	<i>anāgāmin</i> list version
Pāli Commentaries and Canonical Abhidhamma <sup>18</sup>	Theravāda	No	I
* <i>Śāriputrābhidharma</i> (ŚAŚ) Taishō no. 1548 舍利弗阿毘曇論	Dharmaguptaka (?)	Uncertain, apparently No	I
<i>Śaṅgītiparyāyapāda</i> (SP) Taishō no. 1536 阿毘達磨集異門足論	Sarvāstivāda	Yes	III
<i>Jñānaprasthāna</i> (JP) Taishō no. 1544 阿毘達磨發智論	Sarvāstivāda	Yes	III
* <i>Āryavasumītrasaṃgrhīta</i> (ĀVBS) Taishō no. 1549 尊婆須蜜菩薩所集論	Sarvāstivāda	Yes	Uncertain, apparently III
<i>Mahāvibhāṣāśāstra</i> (MVŚ) Taishō no. 1545 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論 <sup>19</sup>	Sarvāstivāda	Yes	III
* <i>Śaṃmatīyanikāyaśāstra</i> (SM) Taishō no. 1649 三彌底部論	Śaṃmatīya	Yes	III
* <i>Śaṃyuktābhidharmahr̥daya</i> (SAH) Taishō no. 1552 雜阿毘曇心論	Sarvāstivāda	Yes	III
<i>Abhidharmakośa</i> (AKBh)	Sarvāstivāda/Sautrāntika	Yes	II, III <sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Here I apply the term “commentaries” to both the *atthakathās* to the four major Nikāyas and the seven canonical Abhidhamma treatises.

<sup>19</sup> There are two other incomplete Chinese translations of the *Vibhāṣā* (T1546 and 1547). They have no difference with regard to the *anāgāmin* list and their position on *antarābhava* with T1545. Hence, in the following discussion I will only use the MVŚ (T1545).

<sup>20</sup> AK(Bh) VI.37: so 'ntarotpannasamskārāsamskāraparinir vṛtiḥ / ūrdhvasrotāś ca (358.19–20)... sūtre tvanābhisaṃskāraparinirvāyī pūrva paṭhyate / tathaiva ca yujyate (359.6–7). Obviously, Vasubandhu knows both versions II&III and thinks version II is more reasonable.

* <i>Tattvasiddhi</i> (TS) Taishō no. 1646 成實論	Dārṣṭantika (?)	No	II
<i>Yogācārabhūmi</i> (YBh) Taishō no. 1579 瑜伽師地論	Yogācāra	Yes	II
<i>Mahāyānābhīdharmasamuccaya</i> (AS) no. 1605 大乘阿毘達磨集論	Yogācāra	Yes	II

Table 4: Early commentary and Abhidharma texts

From tables 3 and 4 we can see obvious uniformity among the texts within each school and the *anāgāmin* list that each text contains. The three versions of the *anāgāmin* list roughly correspond to the Theravāda (version I), the Sarvāstivāda (version III), and the Yogācāra (version II) lineages. However, it should be noted that in the *Yogācārabhūmi* list the third and the fourth items are spelled as *anabhisamṣkāra-p°* and *sābhisamṣkāra-p°* – with an extra prefix *abhi-* attached. This spelling appears also in the *Abhidharmakośa*.

#### 4. Interpretations of the *anāgāmin* list

The *sūtra* and commentarial texts contain three explanations or interpretations of the *anāgāmin* list: (1) the spark simile found in the *sūtras*; (2) the Sarvāstivāda interpretation found in the *Saṅgīti-paryāya* (SP) and strictly followed by most Sarvāstivāda texts; (3) the Theravāda interpretation found in the Pāli commentaries and Abhidhamma texts.

The spark simile occurs in the Pāli Aṅguttara Nikāya and Chinese Madhyamāgama. It is also mentioned in the later Sanskrit and Chinese Abhidharma texts. So, it is certain that this simile is shared by most of the traditions or schools and is not associated with any particular version of the *anāgāmin* list in table 2. But the Theravāda interpretation of the simile is limited to the Theravāda version of the list, just as the Sarvāstivāda interpretation is limited to the Sarvāstivāda version. I will discuss the three interpretations in the following three sub-sections.

4.1. The spark simile in the *sūtras*

In the Pāli Aṅguttara Nikāya (A) IV 70–4, the *Purisagati* (“Going of man”) *sutta* has the same content as the Chinese 善人往經 (“Going of good man”) *sūtra* in the Chinese Madhyamāgama (MĀ) (T1 427a13–c24). It discusses the seven ways in which one can enter *nirvāṇa*. In other words, when a monk practices in a certain way and abandons the fetters, he may attain *nirvāṇa* in seven ways, like the extinction of seven kinds of sparks: that is to say, when someone hits a slab of hot metal with a hammer, the sparks that fly off the metal are extinguished in the following seven ways:<sup>21</sup>

	Spark	Person	
		Pāli A IV 70–4	Chinese MĀ T1 427 a13–c24
1a	a bit which comes off from a hot, beaten iron slab, and then cools down	<i>antarā-parinibbāyin</i>	<i>antarā-parinirvāyin</i> 中般涅槃
1b	a bit which comes off, flies up and then cools down	<i>antarā-parinibbāyin</i>	<i>antarā-parinirvāyin</i> 中般涅槃
1c	a bit which comes off, flies up, and then cools down before falling on the ground	<i>antarā-parinibbāyin</i>	<i>antarā-parinirvāyin</i> 中般涅槃
2	a bit which cools after falling on the ground	<i>upahacca-parinibbāyin</i>	<i>upapadya-parinirvāyin</i> 生般涅槃
3	a bit which flies up and falls on a little fuel, igniting it, then cools down after the fuel gets used up	<i>asaṅkhāra-parinibbāyin</i>	<i>saṃskāra-parinirvāyin</i> 有行般涅槃
4	a bit which falls on a large heap of fuel, but cools down after the fuel is used up	<i>asaṅkhāra-parinibbāyin</i>	<i>asaṃskāra-parinirvāyin</i> 無行般涅槃
5	a bit which flies up and falls on a heap of fuel such that a fire spreads, but then goes out when it reaches e.g. water or rock	<i>uddhamṣota</i>	<i>ūrdhvasrota</i> 上流阿迦膩吒般涅槃

Table 5: The spark simile and the *anāgāmins*

<sup>21</sup> This summary is adopted (slightly modified) from Harvey 1995: 101.

From the simile, we can see that this list of *anāgāmins* is understood as an ordered sequence, and just as the first spark within the list is extinguished faster than the following ones, an *anāgāmin* mentioned first in the list attains *nirvāṇa* faster than the following ones. In other words, an *antarā-parinirvāyin* should enter *nirvāṇa* faster than an *upapadya-parinirvāyin* / *upahacca-parinibbāyin*, etc. Or, in Buddhist terms, an *anāgāmin* at the beginning of the list is superior to the following ones because he has fewer remaining defilements.

It should be noted that the *anāgāmin* list given in the Pāli text is obviously different from the one in the Chinese MĀ. Item 2 in the Pāli list is *upahacca* while in the Chinese is *upapadya*, and the positions of item 3 and 4 are switched in the Chinese list, relative to the Pāli one. Obviously, these two texts share the same tradition of the spark simile but they represent different traditions or lineages in the interpretation of the *anāgāmin* list.

The *Yogācārabhūmi* (178,10–182,5; T30 425a11–b5) explicitly quotes this simile to explain three kinds of *antarā-parinirvāyins*; and it also follows the *sūtra* in presenting the list as an ordered sequence reflecting the relative superiority of different *anāgāmins*. The interpretation in the *\*Tattvasiddhi* (T32 246a27–b25) follows a pattern similar to the *Yogācārabhūmi*, but, significantly, the *\*Tattvasiddhi* uses the term *antarābhava* to explain the three kinds of *antarā-parinirvāyins*, which contradicts its own position, as given in chapter 25 of the text.<sup>22</sup>

#### 4.2. The Theravāda interpretation

Interpretations of the *anāgāmin* list occur in several places in the Pāli Abhidhamma and commentaries (*aṭṭhakathā*).<sup>23</sup> Among them,

<sup>22</sup> Chapter 24 (T32 256b11–) of the *\*Tattvasiddhi* is named “On the existence of *antarābhava*.” It lists 12 arguments supporting the notion of *antarābhava*. Then in chapter 25 (T32 256c1–), “On the non-existence of *antarābhava*,” it rejects the 12 arguments given in ch.24 one by one and offers 7 more arguments against *antarābhava*. Apparently, the compiler(s) of the *\*Tattvasiddhi* were more inclined to reject the existence of *antarābhava*.

<sup>23</sup> Pp 16–17; A-a IV 7, 39; S-a III 143–4; Pp-a 198–201. See also Bodhi



the *Puggalapaññatti* (Pp) is the only canonical text. In the Pp the five *anāgāmins* are given in the “Division of Human Types by One” (*ekakaṃ*). The interpretation can be summarized as follows:

1. *antarā-parinibbāyin*: One having destroyed the five fetters connected to the lower realm, having been reborn in the *rūpa-dhātu*, brings forth the noble path, abandons fetters connected to higher realms, and attains *parinibbāna* before the middle of the life span.
2. *upahacca-parinibbāyin*: One having destroyed the five fetters connected to the lower realm, having been reborn in the *rūpa-dhātu*, brings forth the noble path, abandons fetters connected to higher realms, and attains *parinibbāna* after the middle of the life span.
3. *asañkhāra-parinibbāyin*: One having destroyed the five fetters connected to the lower realm, having been reborn in the *rūpa-dhātu*, brings forth the noble path without *sañkhāra*, abandons fetters connected to higher realms, and attains *parinibbāna*.
4. *sasañkhāra-parinibbāyin*: One having destroyed the five fetters connected to the lower realm, having been reborn in the *rūpa-dhātu*, brings forth the noble path with *sañkhāra*, abandons fetters connected to higher realms, and attains *parinibbāna*.
5. *uddhaṃsota*: One having destroyed the five fetters connected to the lower realm, having been reborn in the lower realm of the *rūpa-dhātu* is then reborn in higher and higher realms until *akaniṭṭha* – the top level of the *rūpa-dhātu*, in which he abandons fetters connected to higher realms, and attains *parinibbāna*.

It should be noted that the Pp explanation of items 3 (*asañkhāra-parinibbāyin*) and 4 (*sasañkhāra-parinibbāyin*) does not gloss the words *asañkhāra* and *sasañkhāra* but merely repeats these terms in the instrumental case to characterize these two kinds of *anāgāmins*:

3. *asañkhāra-parinibbāyin*: ... so *asañkhāreṇa ariyamaggaṃ sañjane-ti*...
4. *sasañkhāra-parinibbāyin*: ... so *sasañkhāreṇa ariyamaggaṃ sañjane-ti*...<sup>24</sup>

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2000: 1902n65, and Masfield 1987: 109–110.

<sup>24</sup> Pp 17.

This does not help to clarify the word *saṅkhāra*, which is a difficult term with multiple meanings. However, in the commentaries, *Puggalapaññatti-aṭṭhakathā* (Pp-a) *Āṅuttaranikāya-aṭṭhakathā* (= *Manorathapūraṇī*, A-a), and *Samyuttanikāya-aṭṭhakathā* (= *Sā-ratthappakāsinī*, S-a), the word *saṅkhāra* is glossed with *payoga* (Skt. *prayoga*), which gives items 3 and 4 the meanings “without exertion” and “with exertion.” Here we can see a gap in interpretation between the canonical Pp and the *aṭṭhakathās*: the Pp inherited the ambiguity from the sutta and continued to use the same word *saṅkhāra*, while the *aṭṭhakathās* by using the word *payoga* avoided the ambiguity, but introduced an additional problem in the interpretation of the *anāgāmin* list. This issue will be discussed in detail in sections 5.3 and 5.4.

The \**Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra* (ŚĀŚ, Taishō no. 1548 舍利弗阿毘曇論T28, 587b12–588a15) interprets the list in a way somewhat similar to the *Puggala-paññatti* especially concerning item 1, the *antarā-parinivāyin*. In the ŚĀŚ also, *antarā-parinivāyin* is understood to refer to someone reborn in the *rūpa-dhātu* as a *deva*, who, in the middle of his lifespan, destroys [defilement? or life?] dharma and attains *antarā-parinirvāṇa* (若生色界天上, 於彼天壽中, 於彼斷法中般涅槃, 是名中般涅槃).<sup>25</sup> Obviously, this is contrary to the interpretation of *antarābhava* as an intermediate state. Also item 2 \**upahacca-parinirvāyin* is translated as 速般涅槃 (attains *parinirvāṇa* quickly) and explained as referring to someone reborn as a *deva* who has a shorter lifespan but more pleasure, who leaves quickly to attain *parinirvāṇa* (欲界命終生色界天上, 彼天壽少樂多離速般涅槃).<sup>26</sup> The \**sasaṃskāra-parinirvāyin* is one who is born as a *deva*, attains \**ānantaryamārga*, and then attains *parinirvāṇa* (若生色界天上, 於彼無行得無間道, 得已即於彼間般涅槃, 是名無行般涅槃.) Here, as in the Pp, the ŚĀŚ retains the term *asaṃskāra* from

<sup>25</sup> The sentence 於彼斷法中般涅槃 is rather ambiguous due to the nature of the Chinese language. It can also mean “in those destroyed dharmas [attains] *parinirvāṇa*.” It is hard to determine the exact meaning without the corresponding Indic text.

<sup>26</sup> This sentence is also ambiguous in Chinese. It can also mean “with regard to the lifespan of the *deva*, he has less pleasure and more detachment, [and attains] *parinirvāṇa* quickly.”

the *sūtra* in its explanation. But for *\*sasamṣkāra-parinirvāyin*, it speaks of someone reborn as a deva, who attains *\*ānantaryamārga* with toil (行難), and then attains *parinirvāna* (若生色界天上, 彼有行難得無間道, 得已便於彼般涅槃, 是名有行般涅槃). Here, the ŚĀŚ is closer to the interpretation of the Pāli *aṭṭhakathās*. The interpretation of the last item *\*ūrdhvasrota* is virtually the same as the Pp. Thus, the *\*Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra* is very close to the Theravāda interpretation with some differences in minor details. However, it is significantly different from the Sarvāstivāda interpretation, as demonstrated in the next subsection.

### 4.3. The *Saṅgītiparyāya* interpretation

The *Saṅgītiparyāya* (SP, Taishō no. 1536 阿毘達磨集異門足論) is one of the seven canonical Abhidharma treatises of the Sarvāstivāda school. It is a commentary on the *Saṅgītisūtra/Saṅgītisutta*, which appears in the Chinese Dīrghāgama and the Pāli Dīghanikāya. The main part of the *Saṅgītisūtra* is a list of Buddhist teachings ordered numerically from one to ten. In its chapter on categories of dharmas containing five members, it gives the list of five *anāgāmins*. The SP explains the list as follows (T26 425c28–426c21):

1. *Antarā-parinirvāyin*: One has abandoned the five fetters connected with the lower realm (*pañca āvarabhāgīya saṃyojanāni* 五順下分結) but who still has the five fetters connected with higher realms (*pañca ūrdhvbhāgīya saṃyojanāni* 五順上分結), has made the resultant karma of coming forth (*\*utpāda-vipākakarma* 起異熟業) but without the resultant karma of rebirth (*\*upapatti-vipākakarma* 生異熟業). After the present body perishes and the *antarābhava* rises, before he is reborn in the *rūpa-dhātu*, he enters *parinirvāna* in the state of *antarābhava*.
2. *Upapadya-parinirvāyin*: One has both the resultant karma of coming forth and the resultant karma of rebirth. The present body perishes, and the *antarābhava* rises, and then he is reborn in the *rūpa-dhātu*. Shortly after being born in the *rūpadhātu*, he either (1) enters *parinirvāna*; or (2) attains *anāsrava-mārga*, but lives longer until his life span is finished.
3. *Sasamṣkāra-parinirvāyin*: One who is reborn in the *rūpa-dhātu* (1)

practices with exertion, further eliminates remaining fetters, and enters *parinirvāṇa*; or (2) practices with conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) objects.

4. *Asaṃskāra-parinirvāyīn*: One who is reborn in the *rūpa-dhātu*, (1) practices without exertion, further eliminates fetters, and enters *parinirvāṇa*; or (2) practices with unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*) objects.
5. *Ūrdhvasrota*: One is reborn in the *rūpa-dhātu* among the *Śubhakarītsna* devas (i.e. the upper level of the third *dhyāna*). Then after the life span in this level is finished, he is reborn in the lower level of the fourth *dhyāna*. In this way, in each life, he is reborn in a higher level, until he reaches the top level of the fourth *dhyāna* (i.e., the upper limit of the *rūpa-dhātu*), and attains *nirvāṇa* there.

The *Vibhāṣā* (T27, 874b21–) and the \**Samyuktābhīdharmahr̥daya* (T28, 912b16–) follow this interpretation exactly. The *Abhidharmakośa* (VI.37) agrees with most of this explanation, but rejects the alternatives concerning conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) or unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*) objects given as 3(2) and 4(2) in the SP.<sup>27</sup>

## 5. Some observations

These differing versions of the list of *anāgāmins* provide a rich source for the investigation of text-historical relationships among Buddhist texts and Buddhist schools. To this end, in the following section, I will analyze the textual data presented above from different perspectives. First, I will try to group the texts according to the versions of the list they contain, with attention to differences among the texts that might point to possible lineage connections. Next, I will analyze the differences in the wording (*upahacca* vs. *upapadya*, *saṃskāra* vs. *abhisamkāra*) and ordering (item 3 and 4) of the items, to find what historical information these lists may reveal to us.

<sup>27</sup> AKBh 359.5–6: *saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtālambanamārganirvāṇād ity apare / tat tu na / atiprasaṅgāt.*

### 5.1. The lineages of texts

If we understand a lineage of Buddhist teachings as a succession of teachers and pupils that pass down texts and doctrines, and if we presume, in addition, that members within a given lineage attempt to maintain the stability of their sacred texts, then the differences in the texts we have may indicate different lineages. As shown in table 3 above, there are three versions of the *anāgāmin* list in the *sūtras*. And table 4 shows that each of the later commentarial and Abhidharma texts follows one of these three versions. Based on these three versions of the list, we can divide the texts into three broad groups:

Group 1 (Version I): Pāli Nikāyas, Pāli commentaries and Abhidhamma, Gāndhārī *Saṅgītisūtra* and commentary, \*Śāriputrābhidharma

Group 2 (Version II): Dīrghāgama, Saṃyuktāgama(1), \**Tattvasiddhi*, *Yogācārabhūmi*, *Mahāyānābhidharmasamuccaya*

Group 3 (Version III): Madhyamāgama, Saṃyuktāgama(2), *Saṅgītiparyāyapāda*, *Jñānaprasthāna*, \**Āryavasumitrabodhisattvasaṃgrhīta*, *Mahāvibhāṣā*, \**Saṃmatīyanikāyaśāstra*, \**Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya*

Group 1 is differentiated from group 2 by the wording of item 2 in the list: group 1 (version I) has *upahacca*, but group 2 (version II) has *upapadya*. Group 2 is differentiated from group 3 by the ordering of items 3 and 4 in the list: group 2 has *asaṃskāra* preceding *sasaṃskāra*, while group 3 (version III) has the opposite order with *sasaṃskāra* preceding *asaṃskāra*. And finally, the list of group 3 is different from that of group 1 in both the wording of item 2 and the ordering of items 3 and 4.

The texts clustered in group 3 conform to certain lineage connections given within the historical accounts in ancient Buddhist chronicles. Hence, this grouping of texts is the most expected among the three. The *Saṅgītiparyāyapāda*, *Jñānaprasthāna*, \**Āryavasumitrabodhisattvasaṃgrhīta*, *Mahāvibhāṣā*, and the \**Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* are all believed to be Sarvāstivāda texts, so it is no surprise to see they all have the same version of the list. The only exception in this group is the \**Saṃmatīyanikāyaśāstra*, which is a text of the Saṃmatīya school – the major non-Mahāyāna rival of the

Sarvāstivāda in Northern India.<sup>28</sup> The appearance of the same list of *anāgāmins* in their texts may suggest that the Sarvāstivāda and the Saṃmatīya shared some common textual lineage. According to the historical accounts of Buddhist schools available to us from a number of sources, it is generally accepted that the Saṃmatīya school descended from the Vātsīputrīya (Lamotte 1988: 529ff), but how the Vātsīputrīya is related to the Sarvāstivāda is unclear. Some contend that they are separate groups that emerged from the original Sthavira branch,<sup>29</sup> while others postulate that the Vātsīputrīya descends from the Sarvāstivāda.<sup>30</sup> But regardless of what might have been the case, it is generally accepted that the Vātsīputrīya and its descendent, the Saṃmatīya, have many doctrinal commonalities with the Sarvāstivāda.<sup>31</sup> And regarding the *antarābhava* issue, both the Sarvāstivāda and the Saṃmatīya accept the intermediate state as *antarābhava*; therefore, it is no surprise to see that they share the same version of the *anāgāmin* list.

The texts in group 2 are somewhat mixed in terms of their possible school affiliations. The Chinese DĀ is probably related to the Dharmaguptaka, the *\*Tattvasiddhi* is likely an eclectic work drawing from many sources, but more closely related to the Darṣantika-Sautrāntika,<sup>32</sup> and the *Yogācārabhūmi* and the *Abhidhar-*

<sup>28</sup> Xuanzang's travelogue (Taishō no. 2087 大唐西域記) records that in the seventh century CE many monasteries in Northern India had hundreds, some even thousands of monks learning the Dharma of the Saṃmatīyanikāya. See Lamotte 1988: 539ff.

<sup>29</sup> The *Śāriputrapariṣcchā* account, the Saṃmatīya account according to Bhavya, and the Mahāsāṅghika account according to Tāranātha. Lamotte 1988: 529ff.

<sup>30</sup> Vasumitra's account, and the account in the *Mañjuśrīpariṣcchā*. *ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> The MVŚ asserts that the Vātsīputrīya is mostly in agreement with the Sarvāstivāda with only a small number of differences. T27, 8b17–20: 今此論宗與犢子部...雖多分同而有少異. See also Yinshun 1981: 450.

<sup>32</sup> Katsura compared the 10 points of dispute in the *\*Tattvasiddhi* with the positions of other schools and suggests that its author Harivarman is a Bahuśrūtīya. See Katsura 1974: 29–49. However, ancient commentators in China have observed that the doctrinal positions in the *\*Tattvasiddhi* are close to Darṣantika-Sautrāntika positions. See, for example, Jizang 吉藏 (549–623 CE), Taishō no. 1852 三論玄義 (卷1), T45, 3b25–c1: 成實之宗正依

*masamuccaya* are Yogācāra texts. It is widely accepted that the Yogācāra has a close relationship with the group named Sautrāntika, which is believed by some to be a later development from the Darṣāntikas within the Sarvāstivāda tradition.<sup>33</sup> This list of *anāgāmins* may be seen as one piece of evidence that confirms the possible connection between the Darṣāntika and Yogācāra.

The DĀ is an outlier in this group. Even though it is believed to be a Dharmaguptaka text, item 2 in its list is *upapadya* and not *upahacca* as found in the Saṅg-G, which is also associated with the Dharmaguptakas, but has the version I of the *anāgāmin* list. Since the DĀ was translated into Chinese rather late (413CE) in comparison to the date of the Saṅg-G (1 c. CE), it is possible that inter-textual influences resulting from interactions among the various traditions took place in the three hundred intervening years. Could the early date of the Saṅg-G and its difference from the DĀ indicate that its list containing *upahacca* is earlier than the one with *upapadya*? Unfortunately, these textual passages alone do not permit a definitive conclusion. Although the use of these different terms may be significant with the DĀ or with the Dharmaguptaka group in general, there is no way to determine the relative dating

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何義? 答: 有人言: 擇善而從, 有能必錄. 棄眾師之短, 取諸部之長. 有人言: 雖復斥排群異, 正用曇無德部. 有人言, 偏斥毘曇, 專同譬喻. 真諦三藏云: 用經部義也. 檢俱舍論, 經部之義多同成實. Yinshun also argues that the doctrinal positions in the \**Tattvasiddhi* are close to, but still different from the Sautrāntikas. Harivarman is more an “independent” scholar, and is not easily labeled and associated with one particular school. See Yinshun 1981: 580.

<sup>33</sup> The relationship between Darṣāntika, Sautrāntika, and Sarvāstivāda, as well as Yogācāra is a very complicated issue that still needs further investigation. It is likely that Darṣāntikas were dissidents within the Sarvāstivādin school, who later developed stronger positions challenging the orthodox Vaibhāṣika doctrines. They claimed that they relied on the *sūtras* instead of Abhidharma and were as a result called “Sautrāntika.” Some Sautrāntika doctrines like the theory of a subtle consciousness (*sūkṣmacitta*), seeds (*bīja*) and perfumation (*vāsanā*) are forerunners of similar ideas in the Yogācāra (see e.g. Lamotte 1987: 25ff). Robert Kritzer has shown that there are extensive parallels between positions attributed to Sautrāntika in the *Abhidharmaśābhaṣya* and the *Yogācārabhūmi* (Kritzer 2005). For a summary and critique of recent studies on this issue of these schools, see chapter 2 (pp. 5–40) in Dhammajoti 2007.



of the two lists for texts not affiliated with the Dharmaguptakas. In other words, it is possible that both *upahacca* and *upapadya* appeared at an early time and were adopted by different groups. At a later time, especially as the Sarvāstivāda gained dominance in northwest India, the texts of other schools, like Dharmaguptakas, may have been influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by the Sarvāstivāda texts and their use of the *upapadya* list. However, one must always take into account the possibility that texts have been altered or “normalized” by the authors and editors of the later tradition without sectarian or doctrinal motivation or explicit recourse to any other justification; for example, changes in texts can result from incomprehension introduced by scribal errors, temporal gaps, etc., which the later tradition then attempts to rationalize.

However, could the fact that the DĀ and the Yogācāra texts have the same *anāgāmin* list indicate a close connection between them? It is possible, but again very difficult to prove. Traditional accounts about the Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka, Vibhajyavādin, and Sarvāstivāda groups are chaotic and do not clarify the relationships among them. But I would suggest that the Dharmaguptakas’ connection with the Yogācāra is likely to be a remote one. It may, however, become a little clearer after we examine the texts of group 1, all of which contain version I of the *anāgāmin* list.

Group 1 suggests interesting historical connections among the various textual lineages. The Saṅg-G, the ŚĀŚ, and Pāli texts share a list that is significantly different from that of both the Sarvāstivāda and the Yogācāra, which may indicate that the texts in group 1 have some special connections with each other. It is believed by some scholars that the ŚĀŚ we have today may be closely related to the Dharmaguptakas,<sup>34</sup> and the similarity of its *anāgāmin* list with that of the Saṅg-G favors this hypothesis. Furthermore, the two texts connected to the Dharmaguptakas – the ŚĀŚ and the Saṅg-G – share the same list with the Pāli texts,

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<sup>34</sup> Traditionally Chinese commentators usually associate the ŚĀŚ with the Vatsīputrīyas including the Saṃmatīya (Yinshun 1981: 449–450). However, Japanese and western scholars suggest a variety of sectarian affiliations including also the Vibhajyavādins, or more specifically the Dharmaguptakas. See Frauwallner 1995: 97; Cox 1998: 164–5.



which may indicate that there is a relatively closer relationship between the texts of the Dharmaguptakas and those of the Southern Theravāda. The Southern Theravādins describe themselves as Vibhajyavādins that emerged from the early Sthavira branch.<sup>35</sup> Some scholars think that they are possibly the descendent of a Vibhajyavāda branch named Tāmraśāṭīya.<sup>36</sup> Interestingly, in the Mahāsāṅghika account of Buddhist schools given in Tāranātha's work, both the Dharmaguptakas and the Tāmraśāṭīyas are classified as Vibhajyavādins. Moreover, this Mahāsāṅghika account lists the Vibhajyavādins as a branch separate from the Sthavira, which has the Sarvāstivādins and the Vātsīputrīyas as its descendents. The Mahāsāṅghika account about these non-Mahāsāṅghika Buddhist groups is shown in the chart in Figure 1.<sup>37</sup>

Our textual data regarding the *anāgāmin* list support this account of the possible filiation of relevant Buddhist schools: the Saṃmatīyas, as descendents of the Vātsīputrīyas, have a closer relation to the Sarvāstivādins than the Vibhajyavādins; the Dharmaguptakas are closely related to the Southern Pāli tradition (i.e. the Theravāda) as they are both Vibhajyavādins. In other words, the Mahāsāṅghika account makes good sense of the textual data we have; it can explain why the \**Saṃmatīyanikāyaśāstra* has exactly the same *anāgāmin* list as the Sarvāstivāda texts, and why the Saṅg-G and the ŚAŚ have the same list as the Pāli Theravāda texts.

<sup>35</sup> For a detailed discussion of the Vibhajyavādins, see Barea 1955: 167.

<sup>36</sup> This is the opinion based on Bhavya's record. See Yinshun 1988a: 114–5. Lamotte also notes that it is connected with Sri Lanka (Lamotte 1988: 536).

<sup>37</sup> The Mahāsāṅghika account lists the Vibhajyavāda as a separate group in addition to the Sthavira and Mahāsāṅghika. This suggests that the Sarvāstivāda and Vātsīputrīya are closer to each other in doctrine and texts and are farther removed from the Vibhajyavādins. Here I follow Yinshun and include the Vibhajyavāda as a Sthavira school as generally accepted by most Buddhist traditions. See Yinshun 1988a: 112; Lamotte 1988: 536; also Barea 1955: 23, 167ff.

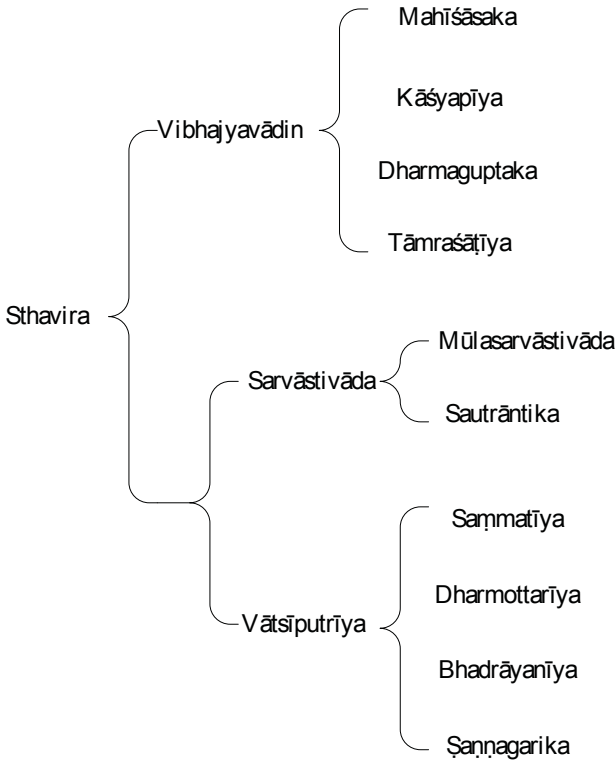


Figure 1

The Chinese Buddhist scholar Yinshun, after examining all the accounts of the chronicles of the Buddhist schools, suggests that the Mahāsaṅghika account might be the most reliable among them, because as a group outside the Sthaviras, the Mahāsāṅghikas can observe and record the development and division of the Sthavira branch of Buddhism in a more detached, unbiased, and therefore relatively, more objective manner (Yinshun 1988a: 144).

Further, concerning the ŚĀŚ, some scholars like Yinshun propose that it represents a proto-Abhidharma stage that was shared as a foundation for the development of the Abhidharma texts of different Buddhist groups (1981: 65ff). This view is supported by the appearance of markedly similar Abhidharma lists of topics (*mātrkā/mātikā*) that are found within the ŚĀŚ, the *Dharmaskanda*, and

the Pāli *Vibhaṅga*. However its explicit Vibhajyavāda position regarding *antarābhava* and the *anāgāmin* list suggests that the ŚĀŚ available to us now is no longer the proto-Abhidharma text that was shared by many Buddhist groups but rather is a more developed Abhidharma text that contains sectarian contents associated with the Vibhajyavādins.<sup>38</sup>

It is widely accepted that the Yogācāra is in some way connected with the Buddhist group referred to as Sautrāntika, which some believe developed from the Dārṣṭāntikas within the Sarvāstivāda school. The relationships among the Sarvāstivādins, Dārṣṭāntikas, Sautrāntikas, and Yogācārins, are still unclear. However, if we look again at the texts grouped according to the *anāgāmin* lists, group 2, which represents version II of the list, suggests that the Yogācāra texts and the *\*Tattvasiddhi*, which contains positions similar to those of the Dārṣṭāntikas, may belong to a different textual lineage than the Sarvāstivāda. Version II of the *anāgāmin* list has the same ordering of items 3 and 4 as the Vibhajyavāda texts, and, as shown in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, the authoritative work of the Sarvāstivādins, the Vibhajyavādins are opponents of the orthodox Sarvāstivādins.<sup>39</sup> The *anāgāmin* lists may then be one piece of evidence demonstrating that the Yogācārins and possibly the Dārṣṭāntikas may not have been “pure” Sarvāstivādins with regard to the texts that they used. They may have absorbed some texts as well as doctrines from opponents of the Sarvāstivādins such as the Vibhajyavādins.

However, the Chinese SĀ makes the situation even more complicated. Versions II and III of the *anāgāmin* list are both contained in the SĀ. As mentioned previously, the SĀ we have today was very likely used by both the Sarvāstivādins and the Yogācārins. If this was the case, the early Sarvāstivādins were obviously selective in using their texts; in the case of at least the *anāgāmin* list, they sim-

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<sup>38</sup> This conclusion is supported by Collett Cox’s observation that, among the earliest extant Abhidharma texts containing the primary Abhidharma list of topics (*mātrkā/mātikā*), the ŚĀŚ is likely the latest in comparison with the *Dharmaskandha* and the Pāli *Vibhaṅga* (Cox 1998: 165–6).

<sup>39</sup> The term Vibhajyavāda in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* may have a broader sense, but it undoubtedly includes the old Vibhajyavāda and the Dharmaguptaka. See Yinshun 1981: 449.

ply ignored variations included in the SĀ. But commentators like Vasubandhu do point out the differences in the list, and he chooses a non-Sarvāstivāda one as correct precisely because he thinks it is more reasonable. From this we can see that a “lineage” of texts does not indeed constitute a homogeneous thread, but is rather like a growing web influenced by a variety of factors that can only be partially perceived in the current form of the preserved texts.

Here I must emphasize once more that my analysis thus far has been based on data retrieved from ancient texts with the presumption that these texts were affiliated with certain Buddhist “traditions” or “schools.” But the way in which the texts were actually associated with historical Buddhist groups is far from certain. The *anāgāmin* list has shown complex relations among Buddhist texts, and I would suggest that we should understand Buddhist groups in a similar way. Terms like Buddhist “tradition” and “school” should not be understood as representing discrete and static historical entities. Perhaps it would be better for us to take the concepts “tradition,” “lineage,” and “school” as convenient umbrella terms representing loose groupings of texts, people, etc., simply for the purpose of discussion, while at the same time conceding that they do not represent the strict, clear-cut categories that ancient sectarian historians would have us accept.

### 5.2. *Upahacca* vs. *upapadya*

In all of the Pāli texts, the second item of the *anāgāmin* list is given as “*upahacca*,” while in the few Sanskrit extant texts it is *upapadya*. Almost all Chinese texts, with the sole exception of the ŚĀŚ, translate it as “生,” which can be understood as the noun “birth” or the verb “to be born.” The ŚĀŚ translates it as “速,” which can be understood as an adjective or adverb that means “quick” or “fast.” As it is impossible to interpret *upapadya* as “quick,” the more likely equivalent of 速 in the ŚĀŚ is *upahacca*. *Upahacca* is a gerund form from the root  $\sqrt{han}$  (to smite),<sup>40</sup> literally meaning “having hit.” As mentioned in section 4.2, the Pāli texts interpret

<sup>40</sup> A-a IV 39 glosses it with *upahanivā*, the “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit” form for the gerund of  $\sqrt{han}$ .

the *upahacca-parinibbāyin* as someone reborn in the *rūpa-dhātu*, who attains *parinirvāṇa* after the middle of his life-span but before that life-span ends.<sup>41</sup> In other words, the *upahacca-parinibbāyin* has a shortened life. In this sense, it seems very likely that the original Indic term in the ŚĀŚ for the Chinese 速 (“quick”) was *upahacca*. Also this sense of *upahacca* might be the reason, as Peter Masefield observes,<sup>42</sup> why some modern scholars understand *upahacca* as “reducing” or “cutting short” (PED *s.v.*).

The question then is which term – *upahacca* or *upapadya* – is the original one? Why and how did the different terms come to be used?

All of the relevant texts are surprisingly silent on the different wording of *upahacca* vs. *upapadya* with the exception of the *Kathāvattu-aṭṭhakathā* (Kv-a). When commenting on the point of controversy concerning whether one can attain arhatship at the very moment of rebirth, the Kv-a states that those of the Northern country (*Uttarāpathakā*) changed *upahacca-parinibbāyin* to *upapajja-parinibbāyin*<sup>43</sup> in order to support their position that one can attain arhatship at the moment of rebirth. The northern texts indeed confirm that the position of both the Sarvāstivādins and Saṃmatīyas conforms to that described in the Kv-a, but there is no evidence to prove the contention that the term was intentionally changed to support their position.

Nonetheless, Kv-a’s explanation suggests that the term used is significant in the interpretation of the list. If it is *upapajja-parinibbāyin* (Sanskrit *upapadya-parinirvāyin*), the only possible interpretation is “one who attains *parinirvāṇa* after being reborn.” Furthermore, as the simile of the spark shows, the *anāgāmin*

<sup>41</sup> E.g. Pp-a 199: *so atikkamivā vemaṃjhaṃ āyupamāṇaṃ upahacca vā kālakiriyaṃ ariyamaggaṃ sañjaneti upariṭṭhimānaṃ saññojanānaṃ pahānāya ...*

<sup>42</sup> Masefield 1987: 116.

<sup>43</sup> Kv-a 73–4: *... upahaccaparinibbāyīti padaṃ parivattetvā upapajjaparibbāyīti pariyaṇantānaṃ saha upapattiyā arahā hotīti laddhi seyyathāpi etarahi Uttarāpathakānaṃ ...*

list is an ordered sequence.<sup>44</sup> Thus, if the item means “one who attains *parinirvāṇa* after being reborn,” then the prior item should refer to someone who attains *nirvāṇa* before being reborn, hence justifying the existence of *antarābhava*. But if it is *upahacca-parinibbāyin* (no corresponding Sanskrit word is attested in this context), it means literally “one attains *parinibbāna* after hitting,” which is rather ambiguous. It may have a similar sense as the *upapajja/upapadya*, in which “hitting” could be “hitting the new life,” and hence, “being reborn.” However, the Pāli commentators want to avoid the possible connection of this term to rebirth and *antarābhava*. The Pp (p.17) explains *upahacca-parinibbāyin* as one “having passed the mid-point of life-span, having gone toward death (*upahacca kālakiriyaṃ*), he brings forth the noble path.” It seems that the Pp is trying to explain *upahacca* as “approaching death.”<sup>45</sup> Obviously this stretches the meaning of this word, and commentators after the Pp appear not to be very comfortable with this explanation. In the *aṭṭhakathās* (except for the Pp-a, of course,) this interpretation, “approaching death,” is never mentioned.

It is important to notice that Pāli texts, when describing the sparks “not falling on the ground” and “falling on the ground” within the spark simile, use the phrases “*anupahacca talaṃ*” and “*upahacca talaṃ*.” And the A-a (IV 39) glosses the *upahacca* with *upahanivā*, the “normal” BHS gerund form for *upa-√han*, which

<sup>44</sup> Some other passages in the *sūtra* canon also show clearly that the list is an ordered sequence, for example, A I 233: *idha pana, bhikkhave, bhikkhu sīlesu paripūrakārī hoti samādhismiṃ paripūrakārī paññāya mattaso kārī. so yāni tāni khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni tāni āpajjatipi vuṭṭhātipi. taṃ kissa hetu? na hi mettha, bhikkhave, abhabbatā vuttā. yāni ca kho tāni sikkhāpadāni ādibrahmacariyakāni brahmacariyasārūppāni tattha dhuvasīlo ca hoti ṭhitasīlo ca, samādāya sikkhati sikkhāpadesu. so pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā uddhamasoto akanitṭhagāmī. so pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā sasaṅkhāraparinibbāyī hoti. so pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā asañkhāraparinibbāyī hoti. so pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā upahaccaparinibbāyī hoti. so pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā antarāparinibbāyī hoti.*

<sup>45</sup> Pp-a 199: *upahacca vā kālakiriyaṃ ti upagantvā kālakiriyaṃ āyukkha-yassa āsanne thatvā ti.*

can easily be understood as meaning “having hit.” But interestingly, the A-a is silent on the term *upahacca* within the compound *upahacca-parinibbāyin*. Masefield suggests that the reading of the name of this *anāgāmin* might be “infected” by the *upahacca talaṃ* (“having hit the ground”) in the spark simile, and the original name of the *anāgāmin* probably should be *upapadya-parinirvāyin* (Pāli *upapajja-parinibbāyin*).<sup>46</sup> And in the few Sanskrit sources we have, “not falling on the ground” is expressed with “*pr̥thivyām apatitā*,” the past participle of  $\sqrt{pat}$  “to fall,” instead of the gerund from *upa-√han*.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, in contrast to Masefield’s suggestion, it is also possible that the name of the *anāgāmin* infected the wording of the simile in the Pāli texts. In other words, if the original name of the *anāgāmin* were *upahacca-parinibbāyin*, an editor might understand it as “having hit [rebirth],” and then use the same word to describe the spark in the simile “having hit the ground,” i.e., the gerund from *upa-√han*. Thus, given the ambiguity of the meaning of *upahacca*, I think there is no hard evidence to judge which word is the original one.

### 5.3. The spelling of items 3 and 4 with and without the prefix *abhi-*

In the Sanskrit *Yogācārabhūmi*, the third and fourth items in the *anāgāmin* list are spelled *anabhisamskāra-parinirvāyin* and *sābhisamskāra-parinirvāyin*. The spellings with the prefix *abhi-* also appear in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.<sup>48</sup> Table 6 shows the translations of items 3 and 4 of the list in the Chinese translations:

<sup>46</sup> Masefield 1987: 117.

<sup>47</sup> YBh 180,9–10: *tadyathā / ayasprapāṭikā utpatya pr̥thivyām / apatitaivam abhinirvāti*. AKBh 122,12–13: *tadyathā ’yaḥprapāṭikā utplutya pr̥thivyām apatitaiva nirvāyād evaṃ tr̥tīyaḥ*.

<sup>48</sup> AKBh 358–9. It should be noted that the prefix *abhi-* does not occur in the AK verse but is present in the prose Bhāṣya. Since it is possible that the prefix was omitted from the verse because of the dictates of meter, it seems that Vasubandhu would support the inclusion of the prefix as found in the prose commentary.

Texts	Item 3	Item 4
Dīrghāgama (DĀ) Taishō no. 1 長阿含經	無行般涅槃	有行般涅槃
* <i>Saṅgītiparyāyasūtra</i> (DJFMJ) Taishō no. 12 大集法門經 <sup>49</sup>	有行人	無行人
Madhyamāgama (MĀ) Taishō no. 26 中阿含經	行般涅槃	無行般涅槃
Saṃyuktāgama (SĀ) Taishō no. 99 雜阿含經	無行般涅槃	有行般涅槃
Saṃyuktāgama (SĀ) Taishō no. 99 雜阿含經	有行般涅槃	無行般涅槃
<i>Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra</i> (ŚĀŚ) Taishō no. 1548 舍利弗阿毘曇論	無行般涅槃 繫人	有行般涅槃 繫人
* <i>Āryavasumitrabodhisattvasaṃgrhīta</i> (ĀVBS) Taishō no. 1549 尊婆須蜜菩薩所集論	行般涅槃	無行般涅槃
<i>Mahāvibhāṣā</i> (MVŚ) Taishō no. 1545 阿毘達磨 大毘婆沙論 <sup>50</sup>	有行般涅槃	無行般涅槃
no. 1547 * <i>Vibhāṣā</i> 鞞婆沙論	行般涅槃	無行般涅槃
no. 1546 * <i>Abhidharmavibhāṣā</i> 阿毘曇毘婆沙論	有行般涅槃	無行般涅槃
* <i>Sammatīyanikāyaśāstra</i> (SM) Taishō no. 1649 三彌底部論	行入涅槃	不行入涅槃
* <i>Saṃyuktābhidharmahrdaya</i> (SAH) Taishō no. 1552 雜阿毘曇心論	行般涅槃	無行般涅槃
<i>Abhidharmakośa</i> (AK) Paramārtha's translation Taishō no. 1559 阿毘 達磨俱舍釋論	有行滅	無行滅
<i>Abhidharmakośa</i> (AK) Xuanzang's translation Taishō no. 1558 阿毘達 磨俱舍論	有行般涅槃	無行般涅槃
* <i>Tattvasiddhi</i> (TS) Taishō no. 1646 成實論	不行滅	有行滅
<i>Yogācārabhūmi</i> (YBh) Taishō no. 1579 瑜伽師 地論	無行般涅槃 繫者	有行般涅槃 繫者
<i>Mahāyānābhidharmasamuccaya</i> (AS) no. 1605 大乘阿毘達磨集論	無行般涅槃	有行般涅槃

Table 6: Chinese translations of items 3 and 4 of the  
*anāgāmin* list



Among these texts, we are certain that the AKBh and the YBh use the terms with the prefix *abhi-*, but we see no difference in the translations of these two terms. The fact that no distinction appears to have been made in the Chinese translations might suggest that the Chinese translators did not think the prefix mattered in this context. In that case, why does this prefix appear in the YBh and the AKBh, but not in the Pāli texts and the Saṅg-G?

The *Saṅgītiparyāya* may shed some light on this problem. As shown in section 4.3, in addition to the standard “with and without exertion” interpretation for the terms *sasaṃskāra* and *asaṃskāra*, the SP proposes an alternative explanation, stating that they may be understood as someone taking *saṃskṛta* and *asaṃskṛta* factors as objects of practice.<sup>51</sup> Here the SP obviously glosses *sasaṃskāra* with *saṃskṛta* etymologically, which is legitimate since both of them are derived from the root  $\sqrt{kr}$  with the prefix *sam-*. This also suggests that the spelling in the SP is without the prefix *abhi-*. The MVŚ and the SAH also contain this spelling without the prefix *abhi-*, since they accept the same *saṃskṛta* interpretation. But the addition of the prefix *abhi-* would make it impossible to gloss *abhi-saṃskāra* with *saṃskṛta*. Accordingly, the spelling with *abhi-* in the Ybh and the AKBh appears to be related to a position different from the *saṃskṛta* interpretation. The AKBh explicitly states that the *saṃskṛta* interpretation is wrong, but does not give any reason why.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> This is a late translation (around 1000 CE) of the *Saṅgītisūtra* in the DĀ.

<sup>50</sup> There are two other incomplete Chinese translations of the *Vibhāṣā* (T1546 and 1547), neither of which differs from MVŚ (T1545) in regard to the *anāgāmin* list and the position concerning *antarābhava*. Hence, in the following discussion I will only use T1545.

<sup>51</sup> Taishō no. 1536 阿毘達磨集異門足論 (卷14) T26, 426b4–6, 16–18: 復次有說: 由此補特伽羅依有為緣定, 進斷餘結而般涅槃故, 名有行般涅槃補特伽羅…復次有說: 由此補特伽羅, 依無為緣定, 進斷餘結入無餘依般涅槃界故, 名無行般涅槃補特伽羅。

<sup>52</sup> Taishō no. 1558 阿毘達磨俱舍論 (卷24) T29, 124b24–26: 有說: 此二有差別者, 由緣有為無為聖道, 如其次第得涅槃故。此說非理, 太過失故。AKBh 359.5–6: *saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtālambanamārganirvānād ity apare | tat tu na | atiprasaṅgāt*. According to Puguang (no. 1821 俱舍論記 T41, 361a) and Fabao

The two interpretations of the term *saṃskāra* in the SP show that the early commentators were not certain about the exact meaning of this term. I did not find any direct quotation of this list from *sūtra* materials in either the YBh or the AKBh. By using the term *abhisamskāra* with the prefix *abhi-*, the YBh and the AKBh restrict the interpretation to “exertion” and rule out the interpretation as different objects of practice based on the term “*saṃskṛta*.” It is then likely that their anti-*saṃskṛta*-interpretation position influences their adoption of the term *abhisamskāra* with the *abhi-* prefix, which would then unambiguously convey the sense of “exertion.” Firstly, the extant early texts in Indic languages such as Gāndhārī and Pāli all contain the version of the list without “*abhi-*.” The Sanskrit YBh and AKBh are from the 5th century CE or even later, so there is a greater possibility that the term *saṃskāra* alone represents an earlier version of the list than that containing *abhisamskāra*. Secondly, as I have shown previously, the interpretations of the SP, itself an early Abhidharma text, are based on the ambiguity within the term *saṃskāra*; therefore we can be certain that the SP list has *saṃskāra* instead of *abhisamskāra*. Finally, the YBh and the AKBh, which employ the spelling *abhisamskāra* in contrast to the earlier texts, never state that the spelling of the term as used in the earlier texts is a problem, but only challenge the SP’s doctrinal position regarding the *saṃskṛta/asaṃskṛta* interpretation. In other words, for them, the form of the word in the list as *saṃskāra* is not important as a terminological issue but only because of the doctrinal confusion to which it might lead, confusion that could be precluded by “clarifying” its sense with the term *abhisamskāra*. The differences in the terms used in these texts reveals the history of the understanding of the term *saṃskāra* in the context of the *anāgāmin* list:<sup>53</sup> earlier commentators were uncertain how to understand this term from its several possible meanings, but later commentators (like authors of YBh and AKBh) determined that “exertion” is the correct meaning and used the form *abhisamskāra* to clarify their position. Or else,

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(no. 1822 俱舍論疏 T41, 747a), here Vasubandhu is following the teachings of Sautrāntikas.

<sup>53</sup> I owe this point to Professor Collett Cox.

perhaps, they simply wanted to reject the specifically Sarvāstivāda-informed interpretation in terms of *saṃskṛta/asamskṛta*.

Regardless of which interpretation the commentators chose – either “with/without exertion” or “with conditioned/unconditioned object” – there is still significant uncertainty remaining in the understanding of the list of the five *anāgāmins*. In the spark simile, it is obvious that the criterion used to classify the five kinds of sparks is the time a spark takes to be extinguished. So it is reasonable for us to expect this criterion also be applied to the *anāgāmins*. And indeed, the first two *anāgāmins* – *antarā-parinirvāyin* and *upapadya/upahacca-parinirvāyin* – are differentiated in both the Theravāda and the Sarvāstivāda interpretations by the time they take to reach *parinirvāṇa*, regardless of whether it occurs in the state of *antarābhava* or already reborn in the *rūpa-dhātu*. But with *asaṃskāra-* and *sasaṃskāra-parinirvāyin*, both the Theravāda and the Sarvāstivāda fail to apply the time criterion.<sup>54</sup> Instead, they are differentiated according to whether they require effort, or whether the objects of their meditation are conditioned or unconditioned. Moreover, the differing order of items 3 and 4 across various texts further reveals the uncertainty in interpretation. We will return to this issue after examining further the order of items 3 and 4.

#### 5.4. The order of *asaṃskāra-* and *sasaṃskāra-parinirvāyin*

The texts related to the Sarvāstivāda school (MĀ, SĀ, SP, JP, ĀVBS, MVŚ, SAH, AKBh) as well as the \**Saṃmatīyanikāyaśāstra* (SM) list the third and the fourth items of the list in a peculiar order: *saṃskāra-parinirvāyin* precedes *asaṃskāra-parinirvāyin*. The texts affiliated with other schools like the Dharmaguptaka and Theravāda reverse the order of these two items. Interestingly, the SĀ contains both versions of the list. This difference in the order of items 3 and 4 suggest two lineages in the interpretation of the list. (To my knowledge, this pair of *anāgāmins* appears only in the context of the list of five *anāgāmins*, so we have no separate case for comparison.) Almost all Sarvāstivāda texts share one version, with

<sup>54</sup> I owe this observation to Venerable Bhikkhu Bodhi.

the exception of the SĀ, also believed to be a Sarvāstivāda text,<sup>55</sup> which contains both versions of the list. This suggests that the SĀ preserves some content that predates the Sarvāstivāda school and would appear to confirm that there is an earlier textual heritage shared by the Sarvāstivāda as well as other schools.

The *Yogācārabhūmi* adds further evidence to support the existence of an earlier, common textual lineage. The YBh contains the non-Sarvāstivāda version of the list, which lists *asaṃskāra* before *saṃskāra*. However, as the Chinese scholar Lü Cheng has convincingly shown, the *Vastusaṃgrahānī* (摄事分) in the YBh is organized according to the *mātrkā* of the SĀ.<sup>56</sup> The similarities between the SĀ and the YBh strongly suggest that the *Yogācāra* and the Sarvāstivāda may have a common lineage with the SĀ that differs from that of the Theravāda and the Dharmaguptaka.

Vasubandhu comments explicitly on the different orders of *asaṃskāra* and *saṃskāra*. In his AKBh, he usually follows the interpretation of the *anāgāmin* list based mainly on the MVŚ, or the Sarvāstivāda tradition, and explains the items in the list following the order in the MVŚ. However, after explaining items 3 and 4 ac-

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<sup>55</sup> Scholars tend to agree that the Chinese SĀ is likely a Mūlasarvāstivāda text. See Hiraoka 2000; Chung 2008: 13f. However there are various views concerning the relationship between Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda. For example: (1) the Mūlasarvāstivāda and Sarvāstivāda are two different schools separated geographically – the former was in Mathurā, the latter Kaśmīr (Frauwallner 1956: 24ff). (2) the Mūlasarvāstivāda was a late offshoot of the early Sarvāstivāda (Yinshun 1988b: 75–77). (3) the Mūlasarvāstivāda and Sarvāstivāda likely share a common early textual origin, but developed their own collections, and later the Mūlasarvāstivāda re-absorbed the Sarvāstivāda in India (Schmithausen 1985: 379–380) (4) the Mūlasarvāstivāda and Sarvāstivāda are two names referring to the same school (Enomoto 2000). Among these positions (1) is based on an ambiguous passage in the *\*Mahā-prajñāpāramitopadeśa* 大智度論 and appears to be very problematic (see e.g. Lamotte 1988: 178). In the case of (2) (3) and (4), we can assume that the Mūlasarvāstivāda and Sarvāstivāda share the same early corpus of texts. Their differences would then be attributed to their different elaborations from the same early texts. Therefore, I do not distinguish them as two separate schools in my discussion.

<sup>56</sup> Lü Cheng 吕澂, 杂阿含经刊定记 = *Za a han jing kan ding ji*, 内学 = *Nei xue* 1924: 223–242.

ording to the Sarvāstivāda order, he notes that *asaṃskāra* appears first in the *sūtra*, and that is the more reasonable order because the *asaṃskāra-parinirvāyin* needs less effort to reach *nirvāṇa*.<sup>57</sup> No other text before the AKBh mentions this ordering issue. It is especially interesting that even the MVŚ, which is famous for its characteristic way of exhaustively listing positions from different Buddhist groups, does not mention this issue.

These textual data are not sufficient to indicate the exact history of these texts, but it is likely that the proto-SĀ, which was shared by different traditions, already had both versions of the list. Later, as the Sarvāstivāda and Yogācāra traditions separated, they treated the list in different ways; the Sarvāstivāda adopts one version and Yogācāra, the other. Vasubandhu notices the difference and chooses to stand with the Yogācāra.

The ordering issue with respect to items 3 and 4 in the *anāgāmin* list is inevitably related to the issue discussed previously concerning the wording of the terms with or without the prefix *abhi*, and together illustrate the efforts of ancient Buddhist commentators to formulate an acceptable interpretation of the terms *asaṃskāra-* and *saṃskāra-parinirvāyin* in the list. We can imagine that in order to make sense of the *anāgāmin* list and the spark simile, they engaged in various commentarial and doctrinal maneuvers, and perhaps even altered the text. Moreover, as I have mentioned previously, the inconsistency in the application of time as the criterion for classification in the explanation of items 3 and 4 further reveals the gap between the *sūtra* texts and these later commentaries.

However, Masefield suggests another possible interpretation for items 3 and 4 in the *anāgāmin* list.<sup>58</sup> He observes that grass, branches, sticks, and other kindling as fuel for burning are consistently used in the *sūtras* as a simile for the *skandhas* (Pāli *khandha*).

<sup>57</sup> AKBh 359.6–8: *sūtre tv anābhisāṃskāraparinirvāyī pūrva paṭhyate / tathaiva ca yujyate / vāhyavāhimārgayor anabhisāṃskārābhisāṃskārasādhyatvād ayatnayatanaprāptiḥ*. Taishō no. 1558 阿毘達磨俱舍論 (卷24) T29, 124b26–29: 然契經中先說無行, 後說有行般涅槃者, 如是次第與理相應, 有速進道, 無速進道, 無行有行而成辦故; 不由功用得, 由功用得故。

<sup>58</sup> Masefield 1987: 119–120.

Therefore, Masefield suggests that the *asaṃskāra-parinirvāyin* can be understood as the kind of *anāgāmin* who is reborn in the *rūpa-dhātu* and gets involved in new *skandhas*, but to a minimal extent; the *skandhas* burn out quickly like a small amount of fuel. And the *sasaṃskāra-parinirvāyin* is the kind of *anāgāmin* who gets involved with more *skandhas*, which take a longer time to burn out. I agree with Masefield that this interpretation seems more reasonable and more consistent because it uses the time that is required before *nirvāṇa* occurs as the main criterion that distinguishes the five *anāgāmins*. It also conforms better with the spark simile in the *sūtra* texts than the explanations presented in either the Southern or Northern Abhidharma texts.

## 6. Conclusion: The variations of the *anāgāmin* list and the dispute over *antarābhava*

The textual data investigated here regarding the *antarābhava* dispute and the *anāgāmin* lists in different texts cannot reveal what the Buddha's "original" teaching was, which was the goal of ancient commentators and historians. But they do provide very valuable historical information that helps to clarify the history of the texts, of the development of doctrines, and of Buddhist traditions. As shown in previous sections, texts that support the notion of the *antarābhava* tend to enumerate *upapādyā-parinirvāyin* as the second item of the *anāgāmin* list, while texts that reject the *antarābhava* are more likely to have *upahacca-parinirvāyin*. Also, the Yogācāra texts have *abhisamkāra* instead of *saṃskāra* in items 3 and 4 of their lists. These examples show that doctrines did indeed influence the form that texts took.

Also, by grouping the texts according to the lists they contain, I have been able to show in section 5.1 that the text groupings reinforce the Mahāsāṅghika chronicles' description of relationships among Buddhist schools. This indicates that the Mahāsāṅghika account might be more credible than other accounts regarding these relationships among the Sthavira Buddhist schools.

Finally, the variation in the order of items 3 and 4 in the list, the difference in wording of *saṃskāra* vs. *abhisamkāra*, and their

spellings in relation to the interpretations of these two items, suggest a gap between *sūtra* texts and later commentarial texts, and reveal the creative struggle of later commentators when attempting to understand ambiguous passages from the *sūtras* and bring them into conformity with their own views.

## Texts and abbreviations

All Pāli texts are quoted from the Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana CD published by the Vipassana Research Institute and proofread with the Pāli Text Society editions. Abbreviations of Pāli text names follow the Critical Pāli Dictionary.

### Dictionaries

CPD	Critical Pāli Dictionary
PED	Pāli Text Society Pāli-English Dictionary

### Texts

AKBh	<i>Abhidharmakośa(bhāṣya)</i> <i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu</i> ed. P. Pradhan, Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute 1975 Xuanzang's translation: Taishō no. 1558 阿毘達磨俱舍論 Paramārtha's translation: Taishō no. 1559 阿毘達磨俱舍釋論
AS	<i>Mahāyānābhidharmasamuccaya</i> Taishō no. 1605 大乘阿毘達磨集論
ĀVBS	* <i>Āryavasumitrabodhisattvasaṃgrhīta</i> Taishō no. 1549 尊婆須蜜菩薩所集論
DĀ	<i>Dīrghāgama</i> Taishō no. 1 長阿含經
DJFMJ	* <i>Saṅgītiparyāyasūtra</i> Taishō no. 12 大集法門經
JP	<i>Jñānaprasthāna</i> Taishō no. 1544 阿毘達磨發智論
MĀ	<i>Madhyamāgama</i> Taishō no. 26 中阿含經
MVŚ	<i>Mahāvibhāṣāśāstra</i> Taishō no. 1545 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論
SĀ	<i>Samyuktāgama</i> Taishō no. 99 雜阿含經
SAH	* <i>Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya</i> Taishō no. 1552 雜阿毘曇心論
Saṅg-G	<i>Gāndhārī Saṅgītisūtra</i>
ŚAŚ	* <i>Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra</i> Taishō no. 1548 舍利弗阿毘曇論



- SM \**Sammatīyanikāyaśāstra* Taishō no. 1649 三彌底部論  
 SP *Saṅgītiparyāyapāda* Taishō no. 1536 阿毘達磨集異門足論  
 TS \**Tattvasiddhi* Taishō no. 1646 成實論  
 YBh *Yogācārabhūmi* Taishō no. 1579 瑜伽師地論; Sanskrit *Śrāvaka-bhūmi* ed. by Karunesha Shukla, P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna 1973.

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